2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
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snatch away some human being to bear them company. If the ghost longs 765
to renew intercourse and return at night for this purpose, it is the old spouse who suffers, never the new partner. No woman remains a widow because men are afraid to marry her. The Kaingáng are forever daring the supernatural anyway.

The children belong to their parents, if one can speak of "belonging" in 593
a society in which children are not valued as property. What we so strongly idealize the Kaingáng actually feel, for to them children are like highly charged emotional batteries. They are valued for their potentialities as emotionally satisfying living things, like most other pets.[11] There is no idea expressed that when they grow up they will feed and protect their parents,[12] 888
for in nomadic days the latter knew only too well the whims that urged and the necessities that compelled their children to wander away from them. They themselves had felt the desire to go north or west or east to see the country or to attack the Brazilians, and they too had left their own parents to follow the camps of their wives' relatives. But when children are left fatherless it often devolves upon the father's family to take care of them, for they feel that responsibility, and it is in this way that it comes about that [587]
a widow often marries someone of her husband's kin. She goes where her children are, and it is there, in the midst of her husband's close kin, that she begins her sex life anew and often finds her new husband.

It is a similar factor of residence that brings it about that in the majority 595
of cases the co-spouses in a polygynous or polyandrous marriage are either siblings or first cousins. For in the closer relationship that springs up among the members of the families related by marriage the most obvious choice is a person whom one sees all the time and with whom, therefore, one delights to have an affair. Since this choice rests almost wholly with the widow and since it is conditioned by a large number of accidental factors, principally what men are available at the moment, her new husband is as likely to be older than her dead husband as younger. Even when he is past middle age a man is still a vigorous hunter, and even if he is an old man, he can depend on someone to help toward the support of his household. His wife may philander as she will, but she is still his wife, and if he [684]
catches or suspects her he may beat her or even put a club through her chest.

If we were to believe Yatí as quoted by Thunder Storm's son, we could say that Thunder Storm acquired his third wife because he was an outstanding figure. But I am inclined to doubt this. His third wife was

[11] The Kaingáng, like many South American peoples, keep pet monkeys, pigs, coatí and hawks. Only the latter are used—for their feathers. Dogs are not pets; emotionally they belong rather in the category of unrelated human beings.

[12] It is true, nevertheless, that the parents could generally depend to some extent on their children's help, particularly before marriage.

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157 It was in times of great danger such as this that the two forces that are most dynamic in the integration of Kaingáng society, love of self[6] and love of others,[7] came into the foreground. The appeal to *waikayú* played its role side by side with the appeal through *ka lélé nyá*. The accusation "You are deserting me" would always bring back the fleeing Indian, even though to his own death. During the same battle in which Tondúin and Thukúgn lost their lives Kemblén was shot in the leg. When Kuklé made as if to go Kemblén called after him, " 'Affinal relative, you are deserting me!' So he [Kuklé] came back shooting, and the enemy went away. When Kuklé's arrows became exhausted, the enemy captured Kemblén. They tried to capture Kuklé but he ran away." Kuikégn lost his life under similar circumstances. He was about to leave after having slaughtered some of the enemy, but his wife, who had been taken captive, called to him, " 'You are leaving me!' So he came back and fought with them for her sake. He thrust her behind him and shot at them for her sake. Whenever he started to go she would say, 'You are deserting me!' and he would come back and shoot at them, until at last they killed him."

888 Like all nomads the Kaingáng were handicapped by those who were too old to move about easily. Yet they carried on their backs both men and women when they could no longer walk or walked too slowly. Kanyahé was so old that he tottered along on sticks and so nearly blind that he had to be led at the end of a bow. Yet he was not deserted. Even when they once seemed to have made up their minds to leave old Waimogué to her fate they took pity on her and returned and fetched her in carrying-bands like an infant. Few of the Kaingáng lived to a ripe old age under aboriginal conditions but when they did they were cherished to the last.

157 The typically *waikayú* individual was "dangerous" to outsiders. He was vicious, quarrelsome, and even, from our point of view, brave, for he would attack the Brazilians in the face of great danger and he was a great killer of tigers, the symbol of *waikayú* in the animal world. Aggressiveness finds mild expression within the extended families in the taking of the initiative, but initiative has a rather mild range. Movements of the hunting bands are determined almost entirely by the prevalence of game tracks in the region, and when anyone returns with the news that he has seen tracks somewhere the whole camp moves in the direction of the game. If the people are so far away from the pine forest that many days' journey would be necessary in order to reach it, some individual will suggest that they go there. His suggestion, however, has particular influence only over his own brothers and sisters and his close affinal relatives. Other people may choose to listen

[6] *Waikayú.*
[7] *Ka lélé nyá.*